

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T MOSCOW 16637

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E.O. 11652 XGDS-3

TAGS: PARM, US, UR, OEXD

SUBJ: TTBT/PNE NEGOTIATIONS

PEN MESSAGE NUMBER THIRTY-NINE

1. THE DELEGATION COMMENTS ON THE JOINT COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT  
INTRODUCED BY SOVIETS ARE AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE:

THE OUTLINE OF A JOINT COOPERATIVE PNE AGREEMENT  
PROPOSED BY THE SOVIETS SUGGESTS A COMPLEX AGREEMENT WHICH  
ATTEMPTS TO BRING TOGETHER MANY DIVERSE ASPECTS OF PNES  
INTO A SINGLE DOCUMENT. THE AGREEMENT PROPOSED EXISTS IN  
SCHEMATIC FORM ONLY AND DOES NOT SPECIFY HOW ITS VARIED  
ELEMENTS WOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN PRACTICE.

THE PROPOSED AGREEMENT LAYS VERY GREAT STRESS ON THE  
ECONOMIC UTILITY OF PNES; AND THIS CLAIM IS USED TO  
JUSTIFY A "COMPREHENSIVE" APPROACH. THE UNIFYING  
ELEMENT OF THE PROPOSAL IS JOINT COOPERATION BETWEEN THE  
US AND SOVIETS IN ALL ASPECTS OF PNE PROGRAMS, INCLUDING  
PNE PROJECTS TO BE CONDUCTED IN THIRD COUNTRIES. THE  
PRIMARY PURPOSE OF THE DETAILED PROVISIONS OF THE  
AGREEMENT WOULD BE TO ESTABLISH THE BASIS AND STANDARDS  
BY WHICH COOPERATION WOULD TAKE PLACE.

IMPLEMENTATION OF ARTICLE III OF THE TTBT IS,  
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SIGNIFICANTLY, A COROLLARY ASPECT OF THE JOINT

COOPERATION CONTEMPLATED BETWEEN THE PARTIES RATHER THAN A PRIMARY ELEMENT.

OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES SUCH AS COMPLIANCE WITH THE LTBT AND THE RELATION OF THE AGREEMENT TO THE NPT ARE MENTIONED IN THE SUGGESTED PREAMBLE BUT NOT CLARIFIED AND THEY ARE NOT MENTIONED AS SUBJECTS IN THE OPERATIVE PART OF THE AGREEMENT.

#### EXPANDED COMMENTS

1) THE PROPOSED AGREEMENT WOULD CONSTITUTE A STRONG ENDORSEMENT OF PNES AS AN IMPORTANT INDUSTRIAL AND ENGINEERING TOOL FOR THE FUTURE. THIS CLAIMED IMPORTANCE IS USED TO JUSTIFY THE COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH BEING PROPOSED. WITH RESPECT TO THE NPT, THIS "PROMOTIONAL" APPROACH APPEARS AS A MOTIVE TO PUSH PNES AND HOLD OUT THE PROMISE OF BENEFITS OF PNES AS BAIT FOR NNWS NOT TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES.

ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE GOALS OF THE NPT IN ANY PNE AGREEMENT, THE APPROACH THE SOVIETS SEEM TO HAVE TAKEN FOR THIS AGREEMENT WOULD APPEAR TO OVERSELL PNES.

2) THE PRIMARY SUBSTANTIVE CONTEXT IS US-SOVIET COOPERATION IN PNE RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND APPLICATION, "ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL BENEFIT, EQUALITY, AND RECIPROCITY." HOW COOPERATION WOULD WORK IN PRACTICE IS NOT SPELLED OUT, ALTHOUGH IT HAS BEEN STATED THAT IT WOULD INCLUDE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AS WELL AS SCIENTISTS AND OTHER REPRESENTATIVES IN ALL ASPECTS OF PNE PROGRAMS. HOWEVER, THE CONDITION "MUTUAL BENEFIT, ETC." SUGGESTS THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE COOPERATIVE PARTICIPATION BY THE US IN THE SOVIET PNE PROGRAM MIGHT HAVE TO BE MATCHED BY EQUAL PARTICIPATION BY THE SOVIETS IN THE US PROGRAM. IF SO, THE SIGNIFICANTLY SMALLER US PROGRAM WOULD THUS ACT TO LIMIT US PARTICIPATION

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IN THE SOVIET PROGRAM AND THUS FURTHER LIMIT THE CONTRIBUTION SUCH EXCHANGES MIGHT MAKE TO VERIFICATION.

3) AN OPERATIVE SECTION WOULD IMPLEMENT ARTICLE III OF THE TTBT, WITH THE MAIN PURPOSE BEING TO ASSURE THAT EACH SIDE COULD BE SATISFIED AS THE THE PEACEFUL PURPOSE OF EXPLOSIVES. THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION FOR VERIFICATION WOULD BE SPECIFIED,

AND IT WAS STATED THAT THEIR IDEAS ON THIS HAD ALREADY BEEN SET FORTH. WE DO NOT FIND THEIR IDEAS, AS PREVIOUSLY SET FORTH, ADEQUATE. THE SOVIET SIDE HAS STRESSED THAT THE EXCHANGE OF SCIENTISTS AND OTHER REPRESENTATIVES WOULD FACILITATE VERIFICATION, AND "REMOVE THE OBSERVER PROBLEM." HOW THIS APPROACH TO VERIFICATION WOULD ACTUALLY WORK IN PRACTICE AND HOW IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO REQUIREMENTS PERCEIVED BY THE US AS NECESSARY WAS NOT PRESENTED OF DISCUSSED. FURTHERMORE, THEIR EMPHASIS IS SOLELY ON VERIFICATION OF THE PEACEFUL PURPOSE OF AN ACTIVITY, AND NOT ON THE ELEMENT THAT ONE SHOULD BE ABLE TO INSURE THAT NO WEAPONS-RELATED BENEFITS ARE GAINED WHICH ARE PRECLUDED OR LIMITED BY THE TTBT.

4) AN ELEMENT OF COOPERATION STRESSED BY THE SOVIETS IS THAT OF JOINT PNE PROJECTS IN THIRD COUNTRIES. THIS MIGHT REFLECT CONCERN ON THEIR PART THAT THE US COULD BE A SUPPLIER OF PNE SERVICES PREFERRED BY MOST THIRD COUNTRIES.

5) THE PROPOSED AGREEMENT DOES NOT CLARIFY FOR US THEIR VIEW AS TO THE EFFECT OF THE LTBT ON EXCAVATION PROJECTS. THEY SUGGEST THAT THE BODY OF THE AGREEMENT SHOULD DEAL WITH ISSUES RELATING TO ENSURING SAFETY DURING AN EXPLOSION. THIS UNDOUBTEDLY INCLUDES THE PROBLEM OF RADIATION ASSOCIATED WITH EXCAVATION PROJECTS. IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THEY SEE THE PROBLEM, OR WOULD PREFER TO SEE THE PROBLEM, OF RADIATION ASSOCIATED WITH EXCAVATION AS A PROBLEM OF HEALTH AND SAFETY ONLY, TO BE SOLVED BY APPROPRIATE STANDARDS WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE US AND THE USSR.

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6) MORE DETAILED POINTS ARE:

A) PROPOSED REFERENCES TO EXISTING BILATERAL AGREEMENTS ON SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION SEEM UNNECESSARY.

B) ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF ROLE OF IAEA SEEMS APPROPRIATE.

C) RECITATION OF SPECIFIC APPLICATIONS (UNDERGROUND STORAGE, ETC.) SEEMS UNDESIRABLE. END QUOTE.

2. MOSCOW 16525, 30 OCT 74, SHOULD BE PNE MESSAGE

NUMBER THIRTY-EIGHT.  
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